2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

121 A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information
127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul-
114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

122 Practically all field work in the present
114 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in-

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 230-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 288-90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1903; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Pátzcuaro
Cañada

362 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada,
184 where different house types occur, information is inadequate to make any useful comparison. Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp, but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region, there are also mosquitoes, apparently including those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this, naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to housing conditions, although screening of sleeping quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the chances of infection.

HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE[7]

342 houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would
[173] be untrustworthy.

Some of the data available from the 16th
342 century refer to a wider area than that covered
●127 by this study. These include the "Relaciones geográficas"[9] of the 16th century and the dictionary of Gilberti.[10] The "Relación de Michoacán," on the other hand, refers only to events occurring about Lake Pátzcuaro.[11]

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580, refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls and straw roofs, adding that they often are small and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes interwoven and plastered with clay) are described but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*. Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque todas ellas de paja."[12]

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe (isuárukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsirincata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata, *casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*" (today k'uta', in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa pajiza*, quaqua, acarutaqua, acxcata."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19, *j, k; m* is described in the text as a provisional

[9] Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

[10] F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1559.

[11] Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y governación de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

[12] Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1938.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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FIGURE 19.—Representations of houses in the plates of the "Relación de Michoacán."

shelter). The roofs appear to be of straw or palm, in some cases with a very large comb or crest undoubtedly resulting from the manner of interweaving the palm at the ridge of the roof. In other cases, the roof is pyramidal or conical and is surmounted by something which may be an inverted pottery vessel. This is what may be referred to by Gilberti: "hucahtsiqua, *un remate que se pone encima de la casa*," and "*chapitel de casa pajisa*, hucahtsiqua."[13] Verandas are depicted in the plates and references to them are made in the text.

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It is evident that modern houses do not correspond to those of the 16th century. Adobe walls may be pre-Hispanic, but the present methods of construction reveal Spanish influence.

[13] Hucahtsiqua (in the alphabet of the "Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas" juriɨ̃ɨ̃akua) can be analyzed as "a thing placed on a summit."

[4.340]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

342 Tiles are unquestionably Spanish in origin, and
177 the architectural types of the Lake resemble Spanish types more than they do the illustrations of the "Relación de Michoacán."

342 Wooden houses are not mentioned in the
127 "Relaciones geográficas" (fig. 20). Although the *cabeceras* described in these Relaciones are not in the Sierra, part of their territories are in the Sierra and some subject villages were in the Sierra. For example, the "Relación de Peribán" says: "las casas deste dicho pueblo e sus sujetos son pequeños e de poco sustén e muy baxas, son cubiertas de paxa y los cimientos de piedra y las paredes de adobes e barro". Among the subject towns of Peribán were San Francisco, Atapan, Charapan, and San Lorenzo, all villages of the Sierra, as well as others not identificable because the native name is not given, but which, from their description, are evidently in the Sierra.

The sole modern construction which might have been in existence in the 16th century is the úmutakata, for in Gilberti occurs "tairimba *troje asentado en cuarto palos.*" The houses of canes and poles (tairindacata of Gilberti) may have been similar, in a general way, to some modern kitchens of a simple type or to shelters.

342 The principal historical problem is to deter-
177 mine whether the shake roof and the log wall with interlocking corners is of European or pre-
171 Hispanic American origin. Both elements are well known in Europe and were introduced in North America, the interlocked log walls being brought by Swedish colonists to the Delaware River. In our case, information is scanty. We do not find references to log houses from before the Conquest or early Colonial times. As to the shakes, the question appears somewhat clearer. The Spanish and Tarascan words for shake (*tejamanil*, tasámani) are both derived from the Nautl tlaxamanilli, a descriptive word meaning "split thing." Nevertheless, shakes are known in Spain,[14] and their Spanish origin in Mexico is confirmed by the Relación of 1581 on the Taxco region near Michoacán, stating that shakes were used as covering for Spaniards' houses, those of the Indians being thatched.[15] A similar situation is found today in the Tsotsil region of

[14] In shepherds' huts of the Basque country. Anales del Museo de Pueblo Español, vol. 1, p. 91, pl. 7. 1935.
[15] Papeles de Nueva España, vol 6, p. 281. Madrid, 1905.

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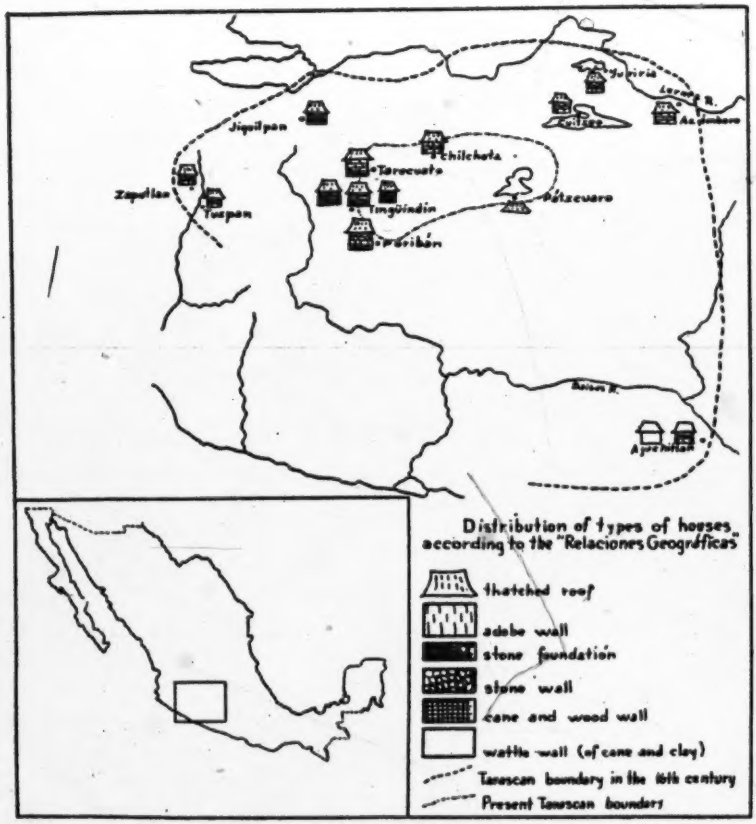

FIGURE 20.—Distribution of types of houses according to the "Relaciones geográficas."

[p.35]

342 Chiapas, where *ladinos* use tiles or shakes for their houses while Indians continue to use thatch.
177 It seems sound, then, to assume that shakes
[171] were introduced into Mexico by a small group of Spaniards, and that their use spread rapidly and intensely in wooded country. As shakes were probably unknown to a great part of the Spaniards, the Nauatl descriptive word prevailed over the Spanish one.

342 The history of shakes and of interlocked log
171 structures cannot, however, be resolved definitively without taking into account all the data from Middle America. At the present time, log structures are found among the Trique, Mixteca, and Mixe in Oaxaca; in the region between Perote and Jalapa, in the Sierra de Puebla; and among the Tepehuano and the Tarahumara. Shakes have a wider distribution.

343 The modern use of the Spanish word *troje* and
127 the Tarascan ꞗarímba (in Angahuan) suggests that these were once granaries which have evolved into the modern wooden house. In the "Relación

[Continued on p.366]

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

362 In the Introduction of this paper, a number of problems were discussed relating to the evaluation of Tarascan housing.

Although accurate determination of value standards for setting ideal goals for Tarascan houses is not pretended, some general conclusions seem possible. Tarascan houses are below the most desirable health standards from the standpoint of dryness, ventilation, protection from cold, and freedom from insects. In general, the wooden type of architecture is less damp and better ventilated. It is perhaps less warm, a deficiency compensated for by use of the fire in the kitchen, with the additional drawback, of course, of smoke irritation of the eyes and respiratory tract. There seems little to choose between the two types of constructio n from the standpoint of rodents and insects.

Economically, the masonry-adobe type of construction seems to be a little cheaper. For most Sierra Tarascans, however, this advantage is illusory and only holds for those who can afford to hire all the labor done. The masonry-adobe construction calls for the employment of specialists throughout. Most Sierra Tarascan males, on

[p.366] [Continued bottom of page 366]

de Michoacán" we read about *trojes* for storing food, clothes, and idols, but no reference is made to the shape or building materials of these *trojes*. Probably we have here a precedent to the clear-cut distinction between *troje* and *cocina* of the modern Sierra Tarascans.

To summarize, we may conclude that the pre-Hispanic houses were predominantly of adobe, with thatched, four-shed roofs. The Spaniards introduced tile roofs and modifications in the architectural type. On the other hand, new iron tools and building techniques (shakes and probably interlocking logs) favored the use of wood in construction on a large scale. Although wooden houses have their center of distribution in the Sierra, they are still found in the regions of Uruapan, La Cañada, Lake Pátzcuaro, and elsewhere, once having been much more common in those districts. With timber becoming increasingly scarce, adobe construction has virtually displaced wood in the adjoining districts and is invading the Sierra.

CONTEMPORARY TARASCAN
HOUSING PROBLEMS

the other hand, are capable of doing a considerable amount of the necessary work on a wooden structure. For those below the higher economic levels, then, it is probable that wooden structures are potentially less expensive than are those of masonry and adobe. In other words, in terms of the distribution of skills within the population, wooden structures are more apt to produce adequate housing if space be the main objective. It should be observed, however, that this probably is not true in many Lake and Cañada villages, where access to timber is absent or difficult, but skill in making adobe bricks is common.

As has been indicated, about 20 percent of the population of Cherán is inadequately housed according to Tarascan standards. For these, any change in housing conditions quite obviously is related to wider economic problems and conditions. What of the other 80 percent according to ideal standards? Until medical determination is made of the proper amount of living space per person in the Tarascan climate, no complete answer to this question can be made. It can be asserted, however, that better housing is possible for most of this 80 percent if two things could be accom-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. V-B]

PREFACE

boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
[166] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (More-
[166] lia) and Zamora—in both of which were established *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech [23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
● [127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1759, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746-48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1808, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

563 **The western area.**—Immediately west of the
191 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
177 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271–273; Romero, 1862.